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Pennsylvania - 9th District

9 Bud Shuster (R)

Of Everett — Elected 1972

Born: Jan. 23, 1932, Glassport, Pa.
Education: U. of Pittsburgh, B.S. 1954; Duquesne U., M.B.A. 1960; American U., Ph.D. 1967.
Military Career: Army, 1954-56.
Occupation: Corporate executive.
Family: Wife, Patricia Rommel; five children.
Religion: United Church of Christ.
Political Career: No previous office.
Capitol Office: 2268 Rayburn Bldg. 20515; 225-2431.



In Washington: There are two Bud Shusters in the House of Representatives — the strident partisan who has harangued Democrats for years on the floor and on the Budget Committee, and the conciliator who works closely with them on Public Works.

The strident Shuster began focusing his ambitions on a Republican leadership post from the day he arrived in Washington. He was president of his 1972 Republican House class, and after three terms he decided to move for the chairmanship of the Republican Policy Committee. The front-runner for that job, Minnesota's Bill Frenzel, all but assumed it was his and did little to win. Shuster simply outcampaigned him and won it, 80-55.

Shuster immediately turned the Policy Committee into a sophisticated media operation, issuing releases on dozens of major issues and holding news conferences in the House Press Gallery to lacerate the Democratic majority. He also began firing a verbal barrage at the Democrats nearly every day on the House floor, launching a brief filibuster to protest changes in the schedule, and bringing a toy duck on the floor to complain about a "lame-duck" session. By mid-1980, Budget Chairman Robert N. Giaino was calling him "the hatchet man of the Republican Party."

But Shuster was not concerned about his image among Democrats; he was running as an avowed partisan for GOP whip. His opponent, Trent Lott of Mississippi, was virtually his opposite in style: friendly, easygoing and non-controversial. Shuster campaigned for the job for a year with all his customary single-mindedness, carefully cultivating each member.

Starting as a distinct underdog, he gradually gained on Lott, but not quite enough. The final score in January of 1981 was Lott 96, Shuster 90. Some Republicans felt that the same drive and intensity that brought Shuster

so close ultimately defeated him, because it raised the fear that he would be less than sympathetic to their personal needs.

Meanwhile, the friendly Shuster was becoming an important member of Public Works, where he long has been an ally of road builders and other highway users and a defender of the Highway Trust Fund against attempts to use it for mass transit costs. For years, he has warned that the country's highways are deteriorating and need more maintenance funds. He was chairman of the National Transportation Policy Study Committee, an ad hoc group created by Congress.

Shuster is now senior Republican on the Surface Transportation Subcommittee at Public Works. He gets along with Chairman James J. Howard so well it makes one wonder if he realizes Howard is a Democrat.

In the 97th Congress, as Howard conducted a two-year lobbying campaign to pry support for highway funds out of the Reagan administration, Shuster was right beside him. The two had their differences, especially over urban mass transit operating subsidies; Shuster argued that more public transit money should be spent in small towns and rural areas. But when the final deal called for giving mass transit one-fifth of the proceeds from the new gasoline tax, Shuster remained on board.

Similarly, Shuster dropped his insistence on adding "Buy American" language to the highway bill when that idea provoked a brief war between Public Works and the Ways and Means Committee. When the \$73 billion legislation finally passed in early December of 1982, Howard paid tribute to Shuster on the House floor, noting that the Pennsylvania Republican had participated in some of the negotiations

Bud Shuster, R-Pa.

Pennsylvania 9

To Pennsylvania Turnpike travelers, this district, which crosses the Allegheny Mountains, is a series of tunnels, long climbs and sharp descents. To Republicans, it is a predictable source of votes.

This central-Pennsylvania region long has been a passageway to the West and, other than farming, transportation has been its central focus. Before the coming of the railroad, trade and travel had to take the long way around the mountains, ducking south. The city of Altoona, in Blair County, prospered as a rail center.

With the decline of the rail system, a new travel-related culture sprung up along the turnpike, the nation's first superhighway, which opened in 1940. Its epitome is Breezewood, the celebrated "Town of Motels" — by night, a garish glow of neon signs amid the mysterious mountain darkness.

For the most part, the 9th is a series of small villages scattered among the mountains. It has little industry; its farmers raise

South Central — Altoona

cattle for beef and milk. The isolation and agricultural character of the area have bred a strong strain of conservatism. Local Republicans there like to boast that much of the area within the 9th District has gone Republican since 1860.

Altoona, which lost 10 percent of its population in the 1970s, used to be a Democratic stronghold. Developed by the Pennsylvania Railroad, it has the giant Samuel Rea Railroad Shops; just to the west of it, the tracks form the famous Horseshoe Curve, an engineering marvel. But many of the railroad workers who voted Democratic lost their jobs and left. Nowadays, Republicans win Blair; Reagan took it by almost 2-to-1 in 1984.

Population: 515,430. White 508,728 (99%), Black 4,727 (1%). Spanish origin 1,841 (0.4%). 18 and over 368,331 (71%), 65 and over 64,934 (13%). Median age: 31.

telephone from a hospital in which he was recovering from an automobile accident.

In the 98th Congress, during the battle over the 1984 highway bill, Shuster joined Democrats in adding on numerous "demonstration projects" — including a \$90 million, 12-mile highway widening project for his own district. Shuster never wavered in his loyalty to his Democratic chairman, criticizing administration threats to veto the bill. "If building a highway in a particular part of America to make transportation and travel more safe... is a 'special interest,'" Shuster said, then it's "a different kind of special interest than I usually hear about in Washington." But the highway bill was not enacted in 1984, forcing Howard and Shuster to return to it in the 99th Congress.

There is no questioning Shuster's effectiveness at steering highway money into his district, or the extent to which it is appreciated there. Motorists passing through the little town of Everett, Pa., can avoid congestion by using what is called the "Bud Shuster Byway" — a brief stretch of four-lane superhighway paralleling the Pennsylvania Turnpike. Shuster secured federal funding for the road.

Earlier in his career on the committee,

Shuster and Howard negotiated a compromise that led to enactment of a trucking deregulation bill to ease restrictions on entry into the trucking business. Smaller communities were concerned that total trucking deregulation might leave them without adequate service, and Shuster was instrumental in the agreement that truckers would have to maintain service to these areas under the new legislation.

Shuster has argued vociferously against air bags as a safety requirement for automobiles and worked to prevent air bag regulations from going into effect. "No hard evidence exists," he has insisted, "that air bags will actually save lives... The air bag order chips away needlessly at our individual freedoms."

He has also fought requirements that buses and subways be fitted with new equipment making them accessible to handicapped people in wheelchairs. He calls such regulations "a costly failure" and wants to allow cities and transit companies to come up with an alternative system, such as special service for the handicapped. He offered an amendment on the House floor in 1980 to permit such an alternative, but was narrowly beaten, 183-181.

At Home: Democrats find Shuster difficult to love, but they also find him impossible

Bud Shuster, R-Pa.

to beat. His district has firm Republican loyalties, and his outspoken partisanship on the floor strikes a chord among constituents. While he has had detractors in local political circles, notably in the GOP organization of the 9th's most populous county, Blair (Altoona), he remains untouchable at the polls.

In 1984, he had an interesting, though unsuccessful, Democratic challenger in 62-year-old Nancy Kulp, who played "Miss Jane Hathaway" on "The Beverly Hillbillies" television comedy. Retired from show business and living on a Pennsylvania farm, Kulp decided to challenge Shuster when it looked as if he would win unopposed. She accused Shuster of voting down the line with Reagan and ignoring the needs of farmers, veterans and elderly constituents.

Unaccustomed to aggressive challenges, Shuster counter-attacked vigorously, launching a heavy advertising campaign and at one point saying of Kulp, "She's an outstanding comedian. I grew up watching her." The media

found Kulp's background and candidacy intriguing, but the voters did not seem interested. Shuster won re-election by two-thirds.

Though Shuster always has won handily, he has not escaped controversy. In the mid-70s he was sued for alleged stock fraud in connection with the sale of securities of a company he had managed. The disgruntled stockholders, who claimed they had been shortchanged, later settled out of court. He also attracted attention when he reportedly tried to buy into a local newspaper, *The Bedford Daily Gazette*, after it criticized him.

Before entering politics, Shuster had a successful business career with the Radio Corporation of America and as an independent electronics entrepreneur. When Republican Rep. J. Irving Whalley announced his retirement in 1972, Shuster embarked on a self-generated congressional campaign and won the GOP primary over state Sen. E. Elmer Hawbacker. Hawbacker was backed by the Bedford and Blair counties' party committees.

Committee

Public Works and Transportation (3rd of 19 Republicans)
Surface Transportation (ranking: Aviation; Economic Development).

Elections

1984 General
Bud Shuster (R) 118,437 (67%)
Nancy Kulp (D) 59,549 (33%)

1982 General
Bud Shuster (R) 92,322 (65%)
Eugene Duncan (D) 49,583 (35%)

Previous Winning Percentages: 1960 (100%) 1976 (100%)
1974 (57%) 1972 (62%)

District Vote For President

1984		1980		1976	
D	59,047 (33%)	D	59,422 (35%)	D	71,159 (42%)
R	118,500 (67%)	R	101,766 (60%)	R	94,421 (56%)
		I	7,245 (4%)		

Campaign Finance

	Receipts	Receipts from PACs		Expenditures
1984				
Shuster (R)	\$450,849	\$181,034 (40%)		\$498,954
Kulp (D)	\$85,891	\$34,276 (40%)		\$85,848
1982				
Shuster (R)	\$314,732	\$102,946 (33%)		\$256,825
Duncan (D)	\$17,189	\$4,300 (25%)		\$17,042

Voting Studies

Year	Presidential Support		Party Unity		Conservative Coalition	
	S	O	S	O	S	O
1984	63	37	83	15	90	8
1983	71	21	85	5	90	8

Year	56	23	60	13	60	18
1981	76	22	89	11	99	1
1980	31	58	94	4	91	2
1979	21	74	90	6	87	5
1978	22	73	90	8	91	7
1977	39	61	90	10	96	4
1976	76	24	91	9	94	3
1975	60	39	89	10	90	8
1974 (Ford)	65	31				
1974	68	32	80	19	85	13
1973	66	34	88	12	95	10

S = Support O = Opposition

Key Votes

Raise Social Security retirement age to 67 (1983)
Bar covert U.S. aid to Nicaragua (1983)
Reduce dairy price supports (1983)
Pass Equal Rights Amendment (1983)
Freeze physicians' fees under Medicare (1984)
Bar aid to anti-Sandinista forces in Nicaragua (1984)
Pass bill to revise immigration laws (1984)
Cut education spending (1984)
Authorize procurement of 21 MX missiles (1985)

Interest Group Ratings

Year	ADA	ACA	AFL-CIO	CCNY
1984	0	95	31	56
1983	0	92	0	55
1982	20	59	29	53
1981	0	88	20	77
1980	6	91	11	100
1979	0	100	16	78
1978	5	96	16	100
1977	15	96	17	94
1976	0	86	13	94
1975	0	93	13	67
1974	13	87	9	63
1973	4	85	9	

California - 42nd District

42 Dan Lungren (R)**Of Long Beach — Elected 1978****Born:** Sept. 22, 1946, Long Beach, Calif.**Education:** U. of Notre Dame, B.A. 1968; Georgetown U., J.D. 1971.**Occupation:** Lawyer.**Family:** Wife, Barbara Kolls; three children.**Religion:** Roman Catholic.**Political Career:** Republican nominee for U.S. House, 1976.**Capitol Office:** 2440 Rayburn Bldg. 20515; 225-2415.

In Washington: Lungren earned a reputation early in his House career as one of the angriest and most strident of the Republican Party's angry young men. But he has gradually emerged as a legislator of considerable substance, using a shrewd blend of partisanship, pragmatism and parliamentary skill to help pass major crime and immigration bills.

On the crime issue, Lungren managed to capitalize on 1984 pre-election pressures to enact the Senate-passed omnibus crime measure. The House Judiciary Subcommittee on Crime had already approved most of the Senate's package — but as individual bills. The subcommittee chairman, William J. Hughes of New Jersey, still felt burned by President Reagan's veto of an earlier omnibus crime package in the 97th Congress over a minor "drug czar" section; now he wanted to keep the issues separate.

But Reagan was using his 1984 presidential pulpit effectively to bully House Democrats for taking no action on the Senate bill, which had some conservative sections limiting the insanity defense and post-conviction appeal rights.

Barely a month before the election, Lungren seized upon an appropriation bill and forced the House to vote on adding the Senate crime package to it. With the crime issue distilled into a simple up-or-down vote, the political pressure was too much. His ploy worked, and the Senate version became law.

Lungren was just as active but not quite so successful on legislation revising immigration laws in both the 97th and 98th Congresses. As ranking Republican on the Judiciary Committee's Immigration panel, he worked closely with chairman and sponsor Romano L. Mazzoli of Kentucky in getting the bill through the House in 1984 and into conference, although it never became law.

Because Democrats were deeply divided on

the immigration issue, the bill could not pass without a big bloc of Republican support, and it was Lungren who earned most of the credit for the 91 Republican votes that made possible the bill's passage by five votes despite a narrow Democratic majority cast against it.

In the immigration debate, Lungren parted company with some traditional conservative allies to support the controversial provision granting amnesty to thousands of illegal immigrants already in the U.S. He also joined libertarians in opposing "warrantless searches" for illegal workers; farm owners complained that such "open field" searches conducted by federal officials hampered farm operations.

"It's not the Sistine Chapel," Lungren remarked about the immigration bill at one point, "but it's not a bad paint job."

When the bill finally passed the House, Lungren gave Mazzoli a friendly hug and then joined him in holding a news conference. "This bill doesn't take any partisan advantage," he responded to one question about his change in style. "Why be partisan?"

In the 97th Congress, Lungren also served on Judiciary's Civil and Constitutional Rights Subcommittee. There, he had an uneasy relationship with Chairman Don Edwards, and in 1983 he left the panel to join the Monopolies Subcommittee.

Edwards' subcommittee had jurisdiction over constitutional amendments banning abortion and busing and reinstating school prayer, and Edwards simply refused to act on them. That upset Lungren. "Without saying any particular individual is acting irresponsibly," Lungren said in 1982, "the fact that a committee process can be used to bottle up pieces of legislation over which there is a strong controversy and which are important issues for discussion, I think is a disservice to the people."

Dan Lungren, R-Calif.

California 42

The oddly shaped and heavily Republican 42nd District is one of the side effects of the Democrats' efforts to create new Democratic seats in Los Angeles County for the 1980s.

The 42nd is a combination of the most Republican portions of two old districts, the 27th, represented for three terms by conservative GOP Rep. Bob Dornan, and the 34th, Lungren's previous district. A strip of land only a few hundred feet wide runs along the Los Angeles and Long Beach waterfront, joining the two segments. The Long Beach Naval Shipyard, the *Queen Mary* and Howard Hughes' "Spruce Goose" are all in this isthmus.

The northern and western end of the new 42nd, the old Dornan territory, includes the heavily Republican suburb of Torrance and the lush, upper-income Palos Verdes Hills area. The Hills, forming a bluff overlooking the Pacific Ocean, includes four exclusive communities — Palos Verdes Estates, Rancho Palos Verdes, Rolling Hills and Rolling Hills Estates. The voters who live there are overwhelmingly Republican and rarely split their tickets. The Hills area casts slightly less than half of the vote.

However, Lungren worked closely with Edwards in the 1981 extension of the Voting Rights Act, assuming a leading role on the GOP side after Edwards failed to reach agreement with Henry J. Hyde of Illinois, the subcommittee's ranking Republican. When that bill reached the floor, Lungren tried to strike the requirement for bilingual ballots, but he remained a strong supporter of the overall bill.

In 1984, Lungren used his position on the Joint Economic Committee to attack the Democrats' proposals for a national industrial policy. He also supported corporate antitrust protection for joint research and development projects. He and fellow Republican William Dannemeyer were the only two members of the California House delegation to vote against the Wine Equity Act, protecting domestic vintners.

At Home: Lungren has put his aggressive personal style to use in all his political campaigns.

The son of Richard M. Nixon's personal physician, Lungren was practicing law in Long Beach in 1976 when he decided to try for

Coastal Los Angeles and Orange Counties

The part of Orange County in the 42nd, carried over from Lungren's old district, casts just under 40 percent of the vote. It includes Cypress, Los Alamitos, Seal Beach, Rossmore, part of Westminster and most of Huntington Beach.

About 80 percent of Huntington Beach's residents live in the 42nd, forming the district's southern anchor. Known as a haven for surfers who congregate around the city's pier, the city is also a haven for Republican candidates, who can count on a large vote from the white-collar professionals whose split-level houses ring the area's many cul-de-sacs.

The Los Angeles County and Orange County portions of the district are of almost equal political temperament. In his 1984 election Lungren took 73 percent of the vote in the former, 72 percent in the latter.

Population: 525,909. White 469,685 (89%), Black 6,927 (1%), American Indian, Eskimo and Aleut 2,952 (1%). Asian and Pacific Islander 29,804 (6%). Spanish origin 38,446 (7%). 18 and over 400,256 (76%), 65 and over 52,744 (10%). Median age: 33.

Congress. The old 34th District had unexpectedly gone Democratic in 1974 for schoolteacher Mark Hannaford, and Hannaford's 1974 opponent, former state legislator Bill Bond, wanted a second chance. But many Long Beach Republicans blamed their 1974 defeat on Bond's halfhearted campaigning, and were ready for a new face. With his family's longstanding Republican ties to help him, Lungren had little trouble lining up most of the party regulars on his side. He won the primary by a solid 49-36.

Lungren's fall campaign was made more difficult by lingering intraparty bitterness and by his own strident excesses, attributed to inexperience at campaigning. Hannaford won a second-term victory by less than 3,000 votes.

Before starting his second campaign, Lungren went to national GOP campaign school. His 1978 effort against Hannaford stressed person-to-person contacts. Lungren spent days knocking on doors, visiting bowling alleys and meeting as many voters as he could.

The challenger knew he would be strong in the Orange County part of the district, and

Dan Lungren, R-Calif.

spent little time there. He focused on the Los Angeles County section, talking about tax-cutting Proposition 13 to the Democratic homeowners in Long Beach and Lakewood. Hannaford had been unyielding in his opposition to the June ballot measure, which Lungren and 72 percent of the district's voters supported.

As it turned out, Lungren carried both portions of the district, ousting Hannaford by nearly 17,000 votes.

He had an easy time two years later, running for re-election against Simone, a candidate who had only one name and could not raise

enough money to publicize it. Simone's outspoken feminism helped her win a four-candidate Democratic primary, but she was overmatched and thoroughly trounced by Lungren.

With a redrawn district that had gained the Republican sections of neighboring GOP Rep. Bob Dornan's constituency, Lungren had no trouble dispatching Long Beach lawyer James P. Spellman in 1982. Much of his time went into helping his younger brother's unsuccessful attempt to dislodge Democratic Rep. Glenn Anderson next door in the 32nd. Lungren had only minimal opposition in 1984.

Committees

Judiciary (5th of 14 Republicans)
Immigration, Refugees and International Law (ranking); Crime,
Joint Economic

Elections

1984 General
Dan Lungren (R) 177,783 (73%)
Mary Lou Brophy (D) 60,025 (25%)

1982 General
Dan Lungren (R) 142,845 (69%)
James Spellman (D) 58,690 (28%)

Previous Winning Percentages: 1980 (72%) 1978 (54%)

District Vote For President

1984
D 67,480 (27%)
R 183,392 (72%)

Campaign Finance

	Receipts	Receipts from PACs	Expenditures
1984			
Lungren (R)	\$242,940	\$61,803 (25%)	\$152,344
Brophy (D)	\$54,743	\$9,270 (17%)	\$54,673
1982			
Lungren (R)	\$246,178	\$70,639 (29%)	\$232,084
Spellman (D)	\$20,140	\$1,000 (5%)	\$19,250

Voting Studies

Year	Presidential Support		Party Unity		Conservative Coalition	
	S	O	S	O	S	O
1984	78	19	91	6	90	10
1983	83	15	94	3	91	6
1982	90	8	90	5	93	7
1981	72	18	88	8	89	8
1980	38	60	90	9	89	9
1979	23	77	96	2	97	3

S = Support

O = Opposition

Key Votes

Raise Social Security retirement age to 67 (1983)	Y
Bar covert U.S. aid to Nicaragua (1983)	N
Reduce dairy price supports (1983)	Y
Pass Equal Rights Amendment (1983)	N
Freeze physicians' fees under Medicare (1984)	Y
Bar aid to anti-Sandinista forces in Nicaragua (1984)	N
Pass bill to revise immigration laws (1984)	Y
Cut education spending (1984)	Y
Authorize procurement of 21 MX missiles (1985)	Y

Interest Group Ratings

Year	ADA	ACA	AFL-CIO	CCUS
1984	0	100	8	81
1983	5	100	0	85
1982	0	95	0	80
1981	20	87	0	88
1980	6	100	11	74
1979	0	100	10	100

Texas - 2nd District

2 Charles Wilson (D)

Of Lufkin — Elected 1972

Born: June 1, 1933, Trinity, Texas.
Education: Attended Sam Houston State U., 1950-51;
 U.S. Naval Academy, B.S. 1956.
Military Career: Navy, 1956-60.
Occupation: Lumberyard manager.
Family: Divorced.
Religion: Methodist.
Political Career: Texas House, 1961-67; Texas Senate,
 1967-73.
Capitol Office: 2265 Rayburn Bldg. 20515; 225-2401.



In Washington: Wilson's reputation for high living long has obscured his image on the inside as one of the better lobbyists and vote traders in the House.

Some members who initially thought of him only as "good-time Charlie" were surprised one day early in his second term when they listened to him leading the defense of the percentage depletion allowance for independent oil producers. Instead of the Wilson they were used to, strutting and wisecracking his way down the aisle, they watched him in the well of the House presenting charts, graphs, statistics and a flood of effective rhetoric.

Without his amendment preserving depletion for the independents, Wilson said, "the petroleum industry of the United States will be controlled by the eight men who head the eight major oil companies in the United States."

It did not quite work. The House rejected his amendment, 216-197. But depletion was preserved for independents in the eventual bill that emerged from House-Senate conference, and they have it to this day.

That depletion debate in 1975 was a decisive moment in Wilson's career. Since then, he has become known as the most persistent House defender of independent oil interests. As public clamor against the major oil companies has grown in recent years, the independents have surpassed the majors as a lobbying force in Congress and as a source of money for conservative congressional campaigns. To a certain extent, the industry's greater clout has increased Wilson's influence. In 1979 Wilson used some of his vote-trading skill to work a favorable deal for independents on windfall profits tax legislation.

In recent years, Wilson's support for oil has broadened into a defense of Texas and other Sun Belt states against the claims of the

Frost Belt region that it is discriminated against in federal spending formulas. In 1981 he became the head of a new "Sun Belt Caucus" of 90 members, aimed at resisting Frost Belt arguments with counter-statistics. "What's wrong with those states," he said of the Frost Belt in 1982, "is the weather, the business climate and the tax policy. They can't pass bills to make it warmer up there."

In the past few years, however, Wilson's oil and regional lobbying have brought him less attention than his views on foreign aid. As a member of the Foreign Operations Subcommittee on Appropriations, he often votes there with conservative Republicans and against his fellow-Democrats. Wilson is essentially a national Democrat on domestic policy questions, but he leaves no doubt that he is a foreign policy hawk.

Wilson has visited the Afghanistan region several times, and during the 98th Congress he took the lead in funding anti-Soviet rebels in that country. "I don't know anybody who wants to be against backing religious freedom fighters against the atheistic horde from the north," he has said. "You can't make a case against it."

Those efforts led to a somewhat embarrassing incident in 1984, when Wilson amended a supplemental spending bill to include \$40 million worth of supposedly secret aid to the rebels. The parliamentary procedure he used to offer the amendment made the item readily identifiable, and news of the aid quickly leaked out. Wilson later said "There were enough inaccuracies" in press reports to protect the program's secrecy. But he added that "I learned a lesson."

Wilson was a militant defender of Anastasio Somoza's regime in Nicaragua. As a member of the Foreign Affairs Committee in the mid 1970s, Wilson sometimes

Charles Wilson, D-Texas

Texas 2

Traditionally poor, isolated and dependent on timber, the east Texas, piney woods 2nd took on a new look in the 1970s with the growth of the oil industry.

Lufkin, the district's largest city, once boasted some 275 sawmills, testimony to the importance of the local lumber industry. The city still relies on a large paper mill for many of its jobs, but steel mills and two factories that make oil and gas drilling equipment now compete for influence in the local economy. Some workers have suffered as the oil boom has slacked off.

Orange, located to the southwest, used to draw its revenues from timber, cattle and rice. Today, it is the domain of petrochemical facilities and a waning shipbuilding industry. Goodyear, Gulf Oil and Du Pont all maintain plants along Orange's major industrial corridor, known locally as "Chemical Row." Orange also has the 2nd's only significant concentration of union members.

Independent oil outfits have sprung up throughout the district in recent years, further altering the 2nd's landscape. But the district has not entirely lost its Deep South woodland feel. Big chunks of the area are designated as national forest land; along the fringes, there are places resembling Louisiana's bayous.

East
Lufkin; Orange

Like all of east Texas, the 2nd is conservative territory with strong ties to Dixie. The 2nd's Deep South character was evident in 1968, when it was the only district in the state to back George C. Wallace. Its character is further evident in the slow progress blacks have made in local elections. Although they comprise 15 percent of the district's population, blacks are seldom a significant political force.

Bolstered by a residual populist streak in the rural counties, Jimmy Carter received a favorable reception in the 2nd in 1976; he took nearly 60 percent of the district vote. Even in 1980, when Carter lost the state by a decisive margin, he carried the 2nd by just under 5,000 votes.

By 1984, however, the national Democratic Party's liberal tilt had alienated even some of the district's most staunchly Democratic voters. Of the 16 counties wholly or partially included within the 2nd, only two voted for Democratic presidential nominee Walter F. Mondale.

Population: 526,772. White 433,363 (82%), Black 81,820 (16%). Spanish origin 16,906 (3%). 18 and over 372,792 (71%), 65 and over 62,165 (12%). Median age: 30.

made his support for overall foreign aid programs contingent upon inclusion of money for Nicaragua. When the administration proved unfriendly to Somoza, Wilson became increasingly unfriendly to the program. After leftist guerrillas seized power in Nicaragua, Wilson became a militant opponent of U.S. aid and a critic of efforts to supply it.

Wilson is a fairly safe vote for Reagan's military aid requests for Central America, though he sometimes can throw the administration a curve. In 1984, the subcommittee declined to spend more than \$17 million to run a military training center in Honduras. The panel accepted a Wilson motion demanding that Honduras first settle a claim by an American citizen whose land was expropriated for the center.

One of Wilson's favorite recipients of foreign aid is Egypt. In the 97th Congress, Wilson offered an appropriations amendment to add

\$100 million in arms loans to the Mubarak government and to earmark an additional \$100 million in military assistance grants to Egypt.

A graduate of the U.S. Naval Academy, Wilson has been a foreign policy hawk his entire congressional career, and spent several years on Appropriations working his way up to a place on the Defense Subcommittee. He finally made it there in 1980. During the Carter years, he was a persistent advocate of developing the neutron bomb and the B-1 bomber, both of which President Carter opposed. Wilson has supported production of the MX missile, and in 1985 gave a blunt warning to liberal Democrats who oppose such weapon systems.

"If the perception persists in this country that the Democratic Party is the party of isolation and ... weakness on defense," he said, "we are flat through in the South and West and we can forget about winning presidential elections."

Texas - 2nd District

Wilson has proved to be a good friend of Texas defense interests and contractors. In 1981 he lobbied strongly for funding for the A7-K attack plane, which has relatively few friends at the Pentagon but is manufactured by the Vought Corp. of Dallas. He led an Appropriations Committee attempt to block the Pentagon from moving Army helicopter maintenance facilities from Texas to Pennsylvania.

To make it onto Appropriations at all, Wilson had to use some of his best Texas lobbying skill. He made his move in 1977, after two House terms, upsetting a more senior colleague endorsed by the Texas Democratic delegation. Once he joined Appropriations, he paid his dues by spending a term as chairman of the District of Columbia Subcommittee, where he argued frequently with city officials.

"I think this city is a basket case," he said at one point. "In Washington, it takes 143 people to do what it takes 100 people to do any place else, and I aim to do something about it." His views brought him into frequent conflict with District Mayor Marion Barry, as Wilson refused to support as large a federal subsidy for the financially plagued city as Barry wanted.

Wilson has successfully managed to combine his active legislative career with the pursuit of pleasure in Washington at all hours. He has never seemed embarrassed about being labeled a playboy or a smiling Texas rogue; he seems to enjoy it. His staff is mostly female and strikingly good looking, and its members sometimes escort him around the Washington social circuit. For a time he dated a woman whose picture had appeared on the cover of *Playboy* magazine. "I love what I'm doing," he once told a reporter. "Why should I go around looking like a constipated hound dog? I'm having the time of my life."

Over the years, Wilson has felt that his constituency not only accepts his style of life, but secretly admires it. "There's a wild streak in people down here," he has said of his east Texas district. "People are inclined to put up with personal behavior. I bet that *Playboy* cover didn't cost me 100 votes."

However cavalier he may be about his reputation, however, the 98th Congress was a difficult time for Wilson personally. Early in 1983, he became the target of a grand jury investigation into charges that he used cocaine. Wilson strenuously maintained his innocence; the Justice Department eventually dropped the case for lack of evidence.

At Home: Wilson found himself in political trouble in 1984 for the first time in his 12-year House career. The Justice Department cocaine investigation attracted a wealth of un-

wanted attention to Wilson, and encouraged primary challenges from four contenders who would never have taken on the popular incumbent in an ordinary year.

The Texas Democrat's exoneration in the summer of 1983, when Justice terminated its probe, did not stop the rain of questions Wilson faced as he made his rounds at town hall meetings. Wilson's problems were compounded in August of the same year, when he was ticketed for a hit-and-run auto accident on a Washington, D.C., bridge.

The candidate best positioned to take advantage of Wilson's troubles was Nacogdoches bank executive Jerry K. Johnson, who was making his first bid for public office after long tenure as an activist in the local GOP. A farm-bred Baptist church deacon and Sunday school teacher, Johnson projected a clean-cut image that contrasted sharply with Wilson's brash and flamboyant air.

Like all of Wilson's primary opponents, Johnson avoided overt mention of the drug issue. But he was not shy about painting the incumbent as a man whose taste for glamour had superseded his interest in the concerns of the district. "Unlike the incumbent, I won't go into the Washington real estate and nightclub business and forget where I come from or who I'm working for," one Johnson press release read.

But Wilson was well-prepared for the fight. Tapping his close ties to defense contractors and the independent oil industry, he amassed a substantial treasury, using some of his money to run television ads that showed him talking with laid-off blue-collar workers and trumpeting his support for domestic content legislation. He also deployed phone banks for the first time in his electoral history.

Wilson sought to defuse controversy over the Justice investigation by attacking the department outright, vehemently denying allegations against him and accusing Justice of prolonging its investigation solely because he was a member of Congress. He told constituents that he was "set up" by an embittered former business partner who had embezzled money from him.

If the investigation hurt Wilson among the district's Democrats, the damage was diffused on primary day. Johnson, the only challenger to clear 10 percent of the vote, carried his home base of Nacogdoches County. But the rest of the district stayed by the incumbent's side. Squelching speculation that he might be forced into a runoff, Wilson captured 55 percent of the primary vote districtwide, and went on to win handily in November.

Charles Wilson, D-Texas

Wilson's outgoing, likable nature has always helped him at home, and his loyalty to the independent oil industry has bought him some freedom on other issues. Those factors have helped enable him to spend most of his political career somewhere to the left of his constituents on many issues.

In 1960, when most Texas Democrats were backing Lyndon B. Johnson for the Democratic presidential nomination, Wilson was for John F. Kennedy. In the Texas Legislature, Wilson crusaded against high utility rates, fought for Medicaid and tax exemptions for the elderly and sponsored bills to remove a ceiling on

welfare spending. He was commonly identified as "the liberal from Lufkin," advancing his career with the help of Arthur Temple, a maverick lumber millionaire who treated him as a protégé and helped with the financing of his campaigns.

During his successful congressional race in 1972, Wilson softened his liberalism somewhat, opposing school busing and gun control. But he still drew the support of blacks and labor and easily defeated the wife of Rep. John Dowdy in the Democratic primary. Dowdy's husband had been sentenced to prison earlier in the year for bribery, conspiracy and perjury.

Committee

Appropriations (16th of 35 Democrats)
Defense; District of Columbia; Foreign Operations.

Elections

1964 General
Charles Wilson (D) 113,225 (59%)
Louis Dugas Jr. (R) 77,842 (41%)

1964 Primary
Charles Wilson (D) 61,684 (55%)
Jerry K. Johnson (D) 32,438 (29%)
Lloyd T. Dickens (D) 9,045 (8%)
William B. Duncan (D) 4,373 (4%)
Mitch Hickman (D) 4,245 (4%)

1962 General
Charles Wilson (D) 91,762 (94%)
Ed Richbourg (LIB) 5,584 (6%)

Previous Winning Percentages: 1960 (69%) 1976 (70%)
1976 (95%) 1974 (100%) 1972 (74%)

District Vote For President

1964		1968		1972	
D	81,989 (42%)	D	86,056 (50%)	D	85,850 (59%)
R	114,915 (58%)	R	81,083 (48%)	R	59,163 (41%)

Campaign Finance

	Receipts	Receipts from PACs	Expenditures
1964			
Wilson (D)	\$607,575	\$284,156 (47%)	\$567,330
Dugas (R)	\$27,764	\$700 (3%)	\$25,966
1962			
Wilson (D)	\$268,944	\$127,414 (47%)	\$264,187

Voting Studies

Year	Presidential Support		Party Unity		Conservative Coalition	
	S	O	S	O	S	O
1964	36	32	44	21	59	15
1963	45	37	53	28	66	13

Year	47	30	51	30	63	15
1962	47	30	51	30	63	15
1961	57	34	54	36	68	24
1960	49	26	52	27	63	17
1979	55	32	57	32	63	28
1978	54	35	59	27	48	37
1977	49	33	65	21	45	41
1976	45	39	58	27	48	34
1975	52	29	55	26	45	38
1974 (Ford)	57	35				
1974	55	26	64	25	43	46
1973	29	58	71	20	38	53

S - Support

O - Opposition

Key Votes

Raise Social Security retirement age to 67 (1963)	Y
Bar covert U.S. aid to Nicaragua (1963)	N
Reduce dairy price supports (1963)	N
Pass Equal Rights Amendment (1963)	Y
Freeze physicians' fees under Medicare (1964)	Y
Bar aid to anti-Sandinista forces in Nicaragua (1964)	Y
Pass bill to revise immigration laws (1964)	Y
Cut education spending (1964)	N
Authorize procurement of 21 MX missiles (1965)	Y

Interest Group Ratings

Year	ADA	ACA	AFL-CIO	CCUS
1964	35	43	73	38
1963	45	57	75	50
1962	25	65	47	58
1961	20	62	50	58
1960	17	43	39	67
1979	21	44	45	82
1978	35	50	68	65
1977	25	26	65	50
1976	20	40	71	54
1975	42	38	70	29
1974	39	40	82	38
1973	48	32	91	40

Connecticut - 1st District

1 Barbara B. Kennelly (D)

Of Hartford — Elected 1982

Born: July 10, 1936, Hartford, Conn.
Education: Trinity College (Washington, D.C.), B.A. 1958; Trinity College (Hartford, Conn.), M.A. 1971; Harvard-Radcliffe Business Administration Program, 1959.

Occupation: Public official.

Family: Husband, James J. Kennelly; four children.

Religion: Roman Catholic.

Political Career: Hartford Court of Common Council, 1975-79; Conn. secretary of state, 1979-82.

Capitol Office: 1230 Longworth Bldg. 20515; 225-2265.



In Washington: Much like the woman she nominated for vice president in 1984, Geraldine Ferraro, Kennelly is equal parts feminist and old pol. She moves easily between those roles, in one breath arguing forcefully for women's issues and in the next breath spinning a tale about "Danny" — Ways and Means Chairman Dan Rostenkowski — in a way that makes it clear the Chicago power-broker is someone she likes and understands.

It is not surprising that Kennelly feels at ease around old-fashioned Democrats. She saw plenty of them growing up; her father was John Bailey, the legendary Connecticut party boss and chairman of the Democratic National Committee under Kennedy and Johnson.

Kennelly's knack for getting along with the male-dominated House leadership has brought her a long way in a short time. She had been in the chamber less than a year when she won a seat on Ways and Means, and in December 1984, Speaker O'Neill appointed her to the Democratic Steering and Policy Committee, which makes committee assignments and helps design legislative and political strategies.

Kennelly is a latecomer to feminist issues; she says her three daughters convinced her to become active. When she, Ferraro and other congressional feminists began pushing their "equity" agenda in 1983, Kennelly said, "Am I going to tell you I am going to change the world of Danny Rostenkowski? No. Am I going to try? Yes."

Her biggest legislative accomplishment was winning passage in 1984 of part of the "equity" package — a law to encourage payment of child support. It requires states to see that money is withheld from the paychecks of parents who are delinquent in meeting court-ordered child support payments.

On Ways and Means, Kennelly also represents the interests of the insurance industry, whose glass towers dominate the Hartford cityscape. In the 98th Congress, she had a hand in shaping a major revision of insurance tax laws lowering the industry's overall tax burden.

At Home: Even though she learned politics at her father's knee, Kennelly took her time getting into the business. She was almost 40, directing two large social service agencies in Hartford, when she was appointed to fill a vacancy on the City Council in 1975. She easily won a full term soon after.

It took a strikingly independent move to win her next office. Gloria Schaffer, the Democratic secretary of state, decided to step down from her post in 1978. Party protocol called for replacing her with another Jewish woman to balance the ethnic makeup of the statewide ticket. Kennelly ignored precedent. Piecing together an organization at the state party convention that drew comparisons with her father, she finagled the nomination from the party favorites and won easily in November.

In 1981, two weeks after six-term Democratic Rep. William R. Cotter died of cancer, Kennelly announced her candidacy to replace him. Other Democrats dropped out, and she was nominated by acclamation.

Kennelly had little trouble in the subsequent special election against GOP nominee Ann P. Uccello, a former mayor of Hartford. Although Uccello had been a strong vote-getter when she captured the mayoralty in 1969, her political visibility had faded after a narrowly unsuccessful 1970 campaign against Cotter.

Running in a Democratic stronghold, Kennelly also had a huge financial lead. The national Republican Party wrote off Uccello, and Kennelly won with nearly 60 percent.

Barbara B. Kennelly, D-Conn.

Connecticut 1

Central — Hartford

Hartford, the capital of Connecticut, is a city of contrast. Aetna, The Travelers, CIGNA and other insurance corporations hum with white-collar activity while many of the city's poor blacks and Hispanics stand idle.

The corporate community of Hartford plays a large philanthropic role, paying for housing rehabilitation, job training and other urban development projects. But the problems are large. After the 1980 census, Hartford was rated the fourth poorest city in the nation, with one-quarter of its residents living under the poverty line.

In politics, the 1st used to be the fiefdom of state party boss John Bailey, Kennelly's father, who personally determined which Democrat would represent it in Congress every two years. The 1st has sent a Democrat to Congress in every election but one since 1948.

Democratic candidates continue to do well among all of Hartford's ethnic and racial groups. In the 1982 House special election, the Italian-American wards in the South End voted for Democrat Kennelly rather than the Italian-American Republican, Ann P. Uccello. In 1984, support from Hartford's blacks, who make up more than

one-third of the population, helped Mondale carry the city with 71 percent. But Hartford's electoral influence is slipping with its population, which dropped by 14 percent in the 1970s. Hartford casts less than one-fifth of the total district vote.

Partly for that reason, the Republican Party has some hope in the district. The capital city's urbanized neighbors — East Hartford, West Hartford and Manchester — are not immune to GOP entreaties. Reagan carried all three of these suburbs in 1984 on his way to winning a majority in the 1st; that marked the first time the district had gone Republican since 1972.

United Aircraft's Pratt & Whitney headquarters in East Hartford employs 27,000 people — the largest single source of jobs in the district — and most of the employees are skilled high-technology workers. Other aerospace and high-tech firms have attracted a similar work force there.

Population: 516,232. White 429,260 (83%), Black 59,723 (12%), Asian and Pacific Islander 3,437 (1%). Spanish origin 32,636 (6%). 18 and over 383,559 (74%). 65 and over 65,558 (13%). Median age: 32.

Committees

Ways and Means (21st of 23 Democrats)
Public Assistance and Unemployment Compensation; Selective Revenue Measures.

Elections

1984 General
Barbara B. Kennelly (D) 147,748 (62%)
Herschel A. Klein (R) 90,823 (38%)
1982 General
Barbara B. Kennelly (D) 126,798 (68%)
Herschel A. Klein (R) 58,075 (31%)
Previous Winning Percentage: 1982* (59%)
* Special Election

District Vote For President

1984		1980		1976	
D	115,174 (47%)	D	109,702 (46%)	D	125,895 (52%)
R	129,384 (53%)	R	93,750 (39%)	R	113,154 (47%)
		I	34,942 (15%)		

Campaign Finance

	Receipts	Receipts from PACs	Expenditures
1984			
Kennelly (D)	\$365,582	\$173,558 (48%)	\$362,403
Klein (R)	\$21,772	\$1,250 (6%)	\$22,295

1982

Kennelly (D)	\$173,335	\$60,805 (35%)	\$144,808
Klein (R)	\$17,906	\$250 (1%)	\$17,119

Voting Studies

Year	Presidential Support		Party Unity		Conservative Coalition	
	S	O	S	O	S	O
1984	31	65	88	7	15	78
1983	16	80	95	3	12	83
1982	34	66	82	8	26	74

S = Support O = Opposition

Key Votes

Raise Social Security retirement age to 67 (1983)	N
Bar covert U.S. aid to Nicaragua (1983)	Y
Reduce dairy price supports (1983)	N
Pass Equal Rights Amendment (1983)	Y
Freeze physicians' fees under Medicare (1984)	N
Bar aid to anti-Sandinista forces in Nicaragua (1984)	Y
Pass bill to revise immigration laws (1984)	N
Cut education spending (1984)	N
Authorize procurement of 21 MX missiles (1985)	N

Interest Group Ratings

Year	ADA	ACA	AFL-CIO	CCUS
1984	85	10	77	38
1983	90	4	94	25
1982	95	13	85	27